

THE CAROLINA SPARTAN.

WM. H. TRIMMIER.

Devoted to Southern Rights, Politics, Agriculture, and Miscellany.

\$2 PER ANNUM.

VOL. XVII.

SPARTANBURG, S. C., THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1861.

NO. 45.

The Carolina Spartan.

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Declaration of the Causes

Which justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union.

The following report of the Committee of which Mr. Manning was Chairman, has been adopted by the Convention: The State of South Carolina having determined to resume her separate and equal place among nations, deems it due to herself to the remaining United States of America, and to the nations of the world, that she should declare the causes which have led to this act.

In the year 1765, that portion of the British Empire embracing Great Britain, undertook to make laws for the government of that portion composed of the thirteen American Colonies. A struggle for the right of self-government ensued, which resulted, on the 4th of July, 1776, in a Declaration by the Colonies, that they are, and of right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may do.

They further solemnly declare that whenever any "form of government becomes destructive of the ends for which it was established, it is the right of the people to abolish it, and to institute a new government." Deeming the Government of Great Britain to have become destructive of these ends they declared that the Colonies "are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved."

In pursuance of this Declaration of Independence, each of the thirteen States proceeded to exercise its separate sovereignty; adopt for itself a Constitution, and appointed officers for the administration of government in all its departments—Legislative, Executive and Judicial. For purposes of defence, they united their arms and their counsels; and, in 1778, they entered into a League known as the Articles of Confederation, whereby they agreed to entrust the administration of their external relations to a common agent, known as the Congress of the United States, expressly declaring in the first article, "that each State retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right which is not, by this Confederation, expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

Under this Confederation the War of the Revolution was carried on, and on the 3d of September, 1783, the contest ended, and definitive treaty was signed by Great Britain, in which she acknowledged the independence of the Colonies in the following terms:

"ARTICLE I. His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, to be FREE SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATES; and that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, proprietary and territorial rights to the same, and every part thereof."

Thus were established the two great principles asserted by the Colonies, namely: the right of a State to govern itself; and the right of a people to abolish a Government when it becomes destructive of the ends for which it was instituted. And concurrent with the establishment of these principles was the fact, that each Colony became and was recognized by the mother country as a FREE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE.

In 1787, deputies were appointed by the States to revise the Articles of Confederation, and on the 17th September, 1787, these deputies recommended, for the adoption of the States, the Articles of the United States known as the Constitution of the United States.

The parties to whom this Constitution was submitted were the several sovereign States; they were to agree or disagree, and when in time they agreed, the compact was to take effect among those concurring, and the General Government, as the common agent, was then to be invested with their authority.

If only nine of the thirteen States had concurred, the other four would have remained as they then were—separate sovereign States, independent of any of the provisions of the Constitution. In fact two of the States did not accede to the Constitution until long after it had gone into operation among the other eleven; and during that interval, they each exercised the functions of an independent nation.

By this Constitution, certain duties were charged on the several States, and the exercise of certain of the powers restrained, which necessarily implied their continued existence as sovereign States. But to remove all doubt, an amendment was added, which declared that the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. On the 23d of May, 1788, South Carolina, by a Convention of her people, passed an Ordinance assenting to this Constitution, and afterwards altered her own Constitution, to conform herself to the obligations she had undertaken.

Thus was established, by compact between the States, a Government with defined objects and powers, limited to the express words of the grant, and to such more only as was necessary to execute the power granted. This limitation left the whole remaining mass of power subject to the clause reserving it to the States or to the people, and rendered unnecessary any specification of reserved rights. We hold that the Government thus established is subject to the two principles asserted in the Declaration of Independence; and we hold further, that the mode of its formation subjects it to a third fundamental principle, namely: the law of compact. We maintain that in every compact between two or more parties, the obligation is mutual; that the failure of one of the contracting parties to perform a material part of the agreement, entirely releases the other, and that where no arbiter is provided, each party is remitted to his own judgment to determine the fact of failure, with all its consequences.

In the present case, the fact is established with certainty. We assert that fifteen of the States have deliberately refused for years past to fulfil their constitutional obligations, and we refer to their own statutes for the proof.

The Constitution of the United States, in its 4th Article provides as follows:

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such labor may be due."

This stipulation was so material to the compact, that without it that compact would not have been made. The greater number of the contracting parties hold slaves, and the State of Virginia had previously declared her estimate of its value, by making it the condition of her cession of the territory which now composes the States North of the Ohio River.

The same article of the Constitution stipulates also for rendition by the several States of fugitives from justice from the other States.

The General Government, as the common agent, passed laws to carry into effect these stipulations of the States. For many years these laws were executed. But an increase of hostility on the part of the Northern States to the institution of slavery, has led to a disregard of their obligations, and the laws of the General Government have ceased to effect the objects of the Constitution. The States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, have enacted laws which either nullify the Act of Congress, or render useless any attempt to execute them. In many of these States the fugitive is discharged from the service or labor claimed, and in none of them has the State Government complied with the stipulation made in the Constitution. The State of New Jersey, at an early day, passed a law for the rendition of fugitive slaves, in conformity with her constitutional undertaking, but the current of anti-slavery feeling has led her more recently to enact laws which render inoperative the remedies provided by her own law, and by the laws of Congress. In the State of New York, even the right of transit for a slave has been denied by her tribunals; and the States of Ohio and Iowa have refused to surrender to justice fugitives charged with murder, and with inciting servile insurrection in the State of Virginia. Thus the constitutional compact has been deliberately broken and disregarded by the non-slaveholding States, and the consequences follow that South Carolina is released from its obligation.

The ends for which this Constitution was framed are declared by itself to be "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." These ends it endeavored to accomplish by a Federal Government in which each State was recognized as an equal, and had separate control over its own institutions. The right of property in slaves was recognized by giving to free persons distinct political rights, by giving them the right to represent, and burdening them with direct taxes for three-fifths of their slaves; by authorizing the importation of slaves for twenty years; and by stipulating for the rendition of fugitives from labor.

We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted, have been defeated, and the Government itself has been made destructive of them by the action of the non-slaveholding States. These States have assumed the right of declaring upon the property of our domestic institutions, and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution, they have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they permitted the open establishment among them of societies, whose avowed object it is to disturb the peace and to deprive the property of the citizens of other States. They have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes; and those who remain, have been incited by emissaries, books and pictures, to servile insurrection.

For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common Government. Observing the forms of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the Executive Department, the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States, whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common Government, because he has declared that "Government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free," and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction.

This sectional combination for the subversion of the Constitution, by elevating to citizenship, persons who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens; and their votes have been used to inaugurate a new policy, hostile to the South, and destructive of its peace and safety.

On the 4th March next, this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the Common Territory; that the judicial tribunals shall be made sectional, and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States. The guarantees of the Constitution will then no longer exist; the equal rights of the State will be lost. The slaveholding States will no longer have the power of self-government, or self-protection, and the Federal Government will have become their enemy.

Sectional interests and animosity will deepen the irritation, and all hope of remedy is rendered vain, by the fact that public opinion at the North has invested a great political error with the sanction of a more erroneous religious belief. We, therefore, the people of South Carolina, by our delegates, in Convention assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, have solemnly declared that the Union heretofore existing between this State and the other States of North America, is dissolved, and that the State of South Carolina has resumed her position among the nations of the world, as a free, sovereign and independent State; with full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Out-Side Pressure.

The numerous despatches which have been received at Charleston and Columbia of the movements of the Federal Government in relation to South Carolina and the other seceding States have become so numerous and interesting that we shall commence our news intelligence upon the first page, and occupy as much space as is necessary to give a good idea of what is passing. The despatches from the *Carolinian* and *Guardian* by Thursday's mail, are very exciting, and the most important are carefully prepared for our paper. They read:

CHARLESTON, January 9.—Despatches received in this city from a reliable source state that the Ordinance of Secession was passed, to-day, by the Mississippi Convention.

The Star of the West, with 250 troops on board, tried to enter the harbor, this morning, but was fired into by the batteries on Morris' Island, and compelled to return back. She is laying off the bar now.

This morning, about 7 o'clock, the steamer Star of the West attempted to reinforce Fort Sumter, but was fired into by the batteries on Morris' Island and disabled. She returned to sea.

In the evening Anderson sent a lieutenant with a flag to the city, at 12 o'clock, to Governor Pickens, saying he presumed the act of firing on the Star of the West was unauthorized, therefore he had not used his batteries. He called for a disavowal in a reasonable time, or he would consider it war, and fire on any vessel attempting to go out.

Major Anderson sent a white flag to the city to-day, to know if the State authority supported the Morris' Island action; if so, he would fire on any vessel within reach of his guns. The Governor replied that it was by the sovereign authority of the State, accountable to no one; and if Anderson chose to declare war, he was accountable to his Government.

Later in the day, Anderson sent another flag, and said he had reconsidered the matter, and would refer the whole affair to the authorities at Washington.

There is no doubt that the Secession Ordinance passed the Alabama Convention, on the 10th inst.

A regiment left Montgomery, tonight, for Pensacola, Florida.

JACKSON, MISS., Jan. 9.—The Ordinance of Secession was unanimously agreed upon by the Committee of Fifteen, and Mississippi is now out of the Union.

NASHVILLE, January 8.—The Governor recommends that the calling of a convention be left to the people. He says that the remedy for present evils exist only in amendments to the Constitution. These being refused, he declares that Tennessee should maintain her equality in or independence of the Union. He recommends the organization of the militia and the purchase of arms.

JACKSON, MISS., January 7.—The State Convention organized at noon to-day. U. S. Perry, of Lowndes County, was elected President.

A resolution was offered that a committee of fifteen should be appointed by the President, with instructions to prepare and report, as speedily as possible an ordinance for the withdrawal of the State of Mississippi from the present Union, with a view to the establishment of a confederacy of the Southern States.

TALLAHASSEE, January 7.—The Commissioners of South Carolina and Alabama were introduced to the Convention. They both delivered able addresses, and the former presented documents from his State.

The following preamble and resolutions of Judge McIntosh—the special order for this day—were taken up:

Whereas, All hope of the preservation of the Union upon terms consistent with the safety and honor of the slaveholding States has been finally dissipated by the recent indication of the strength of the anti-slavery sentiment in the free States; therefore be it

Resolved, That the people of Florida, in Convention assembled, deem it the undoubted right of the several States of the Union to withdraw from said Union; at such time, and for such cause or causes, as, in the opinion of the people of each State, acting in its sovereign capacity, may be just and proper; and in the opinion of this Convention, the existing causes are such as to compel Florida to proceed to the exercise of that right.

The question being taken, the preamble and resolutions were adopted. Yeas 62; nays 5.

The Convention was in secret session most of the afternoon.

NEW ORLEANS, January 7.—The immediate secessionists have carried the city of New Orleans for separate State action by an immense majority. Twenty delegates are elected who are committed to immediate secession against five for co-operation.

Fortifications in the Southern States.

Subjoined is a list of fortifications, taken from Col. Totten's report made to Congress a few years ago, giving the cost of each and a number of guns they severally mount:

Table of Navy Yards and Principal Ports South of Mason and Dixon's Line, showing the Position, Cost and Strength of Each:

WHERE LOCATED.	Cost.	Men.	Guns.
Fort Mifflin, Baltimore.	\$146,000	250	74
Fort Delaware, Delaware River, Delaware.	145,000	800	150
Fort Mifflin, Chesapeake Bay, Maryland.	539,000	750	151
Fort Severn, Maryland.	15,000	150	31
Fort Washington, Potomac River, Maryland.	6,000	60	14
Fort Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Virginia.	2,400,000	2,450	371
Fort Calhoun, Hampton Roads, Norfolk, Virginia.	1,050,000	1,120	224
Fort Mifflin, Beaufort, North Carolina.	400,000	300	61
Fort Johnston, Cape Fear, Wilmington, N. C.	5,000	60	10
Fort Caswell, Oak Island, N. C.	571,000	400	81
Fort Sumter, Charleston, South Carolina.	667,000	650	146
Fort Mifflin, Charleston, South Carolina.	45,000	100	25
Fort Mifflin, South Carolina.	75,000	300	54
Fort Pulaski, Savannah, Georgia.	928,000	800	150
Fort Jackson, Savannah, Georgia.	80,000	70	14
Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida.	51,000	100	25
Fort Taylor, Key West, Florida.	1,000	185	208
Fort Jefferson, Tortugas, Florida.	1,500	208	228
Fort Barrancas, Pensacola, Florida.	315,000	250	49
Belmont, Pensacola, Florida.	169,000	100	26
Fort Pickens, Pensacola, Florida.	750,000	1,200	212
Fort McRae, Florida.	384,000	650	151
Fort Morgan, Mobile, Alabama.	1,212,000	700	134
Fort St. Philip, Mouth Mississippi River.	143,000	600	122
Fort Jackson, Mouth Mississippi River.	317,000	600	150
Fort Pike, Bogalusa, La.	472,000	300	49
Fort Macomb, Chef Menteau, Louisiana.	447,000	300	49
Fort Livingston, Barrataria Bay, La.	342,000	300	52

Senatorial ticket and twenty-one of the twenty-four on the Representatives ticket, are elected by a decided majority.

There is no doubt that the State has gone for secession by an overwhelming vote.

FRIDAY EVENING'S MAIL.

The Ordinance for immediate Secession, of Mississippi, passed the Convention, by a vote of eighty-four to fifteen.

All the prominent places are illuminated and there are earnest demonstrations of joy, with firing of cannon and explosions of fireworks.

The delegates from South Carolina and Alabama took seats upon the floor of the Convention amid great applause.

RICHMOND, VA., Jan. 10.—In the Virginia Senate, resolutions were introduced to appoint a Committee to report to the President that in the judgment of the General Assembly, any additional display of military power in the South, will jeopardize the tranquillity of the Republic, and that the evacuation of Fort Sumter is the first step towards restoring peace. Lies over.

The Senate of Virginia passed, on the 8th inst., the anti-coercion bill.

The Brooklyn started from the Navy Yard on the 10th inst., supposed to wait in Hampton Roads, for sealed orders.

MONTGOMERY, January 10.—Mr. Bulger, of Tallapoosa, offered a preamble and resolution of co-operation and conservative character.

Resolved, That separate State action would be unwise and impolitic.

Resolved, That the State of Alabama should invite the Southern States to meet in Convention, to be held early as practicable, which shall consider and agree upon their grievances as to the manner of obtaining redress whether in the Union or independence referred to it.

Referred to the Committee of Thirteen. Mr. Coleman offered the following:

Resolved, by the people of Alabama, that all powers this State possesses, are hereby pledged to resist all attempts on the part of the Federal Government to coerce the seceding States. Discussion resulted, pending which an adjournment to Thursday at 11 o'clock took place.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.—Commander Hartstein, of South Carolina has resigned his position. Capt. Kearney, of New Jersey, has written receding his letter of resignation, but it appears this has never been received at the Navy Department.

Senator Seward has the floor for Saturday, to speak on the State of the Union.

The Governor of Ohio recommends the repeal of the Personal Liberty Bill of that State. Says the Union must be preserved.

The Governor of Illinois recommends the repeal of the Personal Liberty and other unjust laws.

Both Governors recommend the re-organization and arming of the militia of their respective States.

A fine company of Minute Men from Abbeville, arrived in Charleston last night.

The Monticello Volunteers, Capt. Davis, from Fairfield, with 81 men, also arrived this morning.

The Palmetto Guard and the Irish Volunteers, both in full force, were sent to Morris Island last evening to reinforce that position.

At all the posts, the men are in excellent health and spirits.

RALPH, N. C., Jan. 10.—That each House in Committee of the whole debated the question as to calling a State Convention to-day substantiated, as a bill was introduced in each House, for the call of an unrestricted Convention.

No vote was taken, but they are the special orders of to-morrow. Its passage in the Senate is doubtful. It is reported here that State volunteers have taken possession of Fort Caswell, and it is thought reliable. There is considerable excitement.

Judge Parson in the House took ground for secession as a right and necessary.

LAFAYETTE—Fort Caswell and Johnston are in possession of State troops.

RICHMOND, Jan. 8.—Gov. Wise has published a letter in the Richmond Enquirer, of this morning. Its leading positions favor an immediate call of a Convention; but he says stay in the Union, and seize the forts and hold them, until the ultimatum of the Convention has been made known.

A large meeting was held at Norfolk on Saturday, not for secession, but looking only to resistance to coercion and hostile invasion. Resolutions were passed, urging thorough organization of the military power of the State.

The Arkansas Press says: "It is not generally known that Clinch county, Arkansas, in proportion to its population is the wealthiest county in the world. The population numbers 1,700; the taxable property reaches \$10,000,000, or nearly \$8,000 to every man, woman and child in the county. The number of bales of cotton produced this year will not fall far short of 40,000."

The postmaster at Halifax, N. C. has tendered his resignation to the Postmaster General, to take effect on the 4th of March next, unless North Carolina secedes before that day.

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Fort Mifflin, South Carolina.	75,000	300	54
Fort Pulaski, Savannah, Georgia.	928,000	800	150
Fort Jackson, Savannah, Georgia.	80,000	70	14
Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida.	51,000	100	25
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Fort Pike, Bogalusa, La.	472,000	300	49
Fort Macomb, Chef Menteau, Louisiana.	447,000	300	49
Fort Livingston, Barrataria Bay, La.	342,000	300	52

In addition to these are incomplete works at Ship Island, Mississippi River; Georgetown, S. C., Tybee Islands, Savannah; Galveston, Brazos, Santiago, and Matagorda Bay, Texas. The guns which were lately stopped at Pittsburg were designed for those at Galveston and Ship Island.

Hampton Roads is the greatest rendezvous of the Southern coasts.

Pensacola is very strong, and the only good harbor for vessels-of-war, and the only naval depot on the Gulf. The fortress at Key West and Tortugas, on the Southern point of Florida, are among the most powerful in the world, and every vessel that crosses the Gulf passes in sight of both.

MILITARY AND NAVAL FORCES READY FOR ORDERS.

Now that rumor is so busy with the alleged movements southward of United States troops and naval vessels, it may not be out of place to give a statement of the forces likely to be ordered for hostile service in South Carolina. If soldiers are required, Governor's Island, N. Y., Carlisle, Pa., and the Navy-Yards will be the first places from which reinforcements may be taken. The 800 troops stationed at Fort Monroe, Fayetteville, N. C., Augusta, Key West, Barrancas and Baton Rouge, would not be removed. The available men, then, for military duty are nearly as follows:

Govt. Island,	Men.
Carlisle,	250
Brooklyn Navy Yard,	200
Philadelphia Navy Yard,	30
Boston Navy Yard,	40
Portsmouth (N. H.) Navy Yard,	20

Total, 580

West Point, Fort Hamilton, Fort Adams, and Fort Independence could also spare some men, but the above list includes only those who might be sent away at once, without seriously interfering with the routine duty of the Northern stations.

Relative to the navy, very erroneous impressions prevailed as to what vessels would first be called on. The Brooklyn, Maedonian and Dolphin, regular men-of-war, are to be sure, in commission, and manned, but only the latter, we believe, could enter Charleston, in the harbor of which there are only thirteen feet of water, as the Brooklyn, fitted out, cannot float in less than sixteen feet of water at the least, while the Maedonian requires twenty.

From this fact it would seem that the announcement of these ships being ordered in readiness was premature. There are, however, sufficient craft at the different yards, of the requisite draft, to form a somewhat formidable fleet. We subjoin a list of them:

Vessels.	Guns.	Men.	Tons.
Brig Dolphin,	6	100	250
Harriet Lane,	5	50	about 200
Steamer Water Witch,	2	50	about 200
Steamer Curlew,	2	50	about 200
Steamer Crusader,	4	100	about 400
Steamer Wyandotte,	4	100	about 280

Total, 23 500 1,757

We have included the Crusader and Wyandotte, of the Home Squadron, because they are now at Pensacola, where they have just undergone an overhauling, and a pretty reliable correspondent informs us that they are not to return to their stations immediately. The Mohawk, also, is "in and out" at Key West every day or two, and like her sister gun-boats, could be ordered in, in an hour, by telegraph, to any given place. Naval vessels drawing over fourteen feet of water, to the number of a dozen, perhaps, are susceptible of a speedy equipment; but, as already stated, we mention only those actually ready.—N. Y. Times.

NEW ORLEANS, January 10.—Three military expeditions have left this city within twenty-four hours, to seize Fort Jackson, Fort Pike and the Baton Rouge Arsenal.

It Concerns us All.

In the contest now going on between the Federal Government and South Carolina, every State in the Union is much interested as the one making the issue, since the principle of the State sovereignty is the matter in controversy; and instead of the reproaches we have heaped upon South Carolina for asserting her independence, we should hail her cause as our own, and applaud the gallantry with which she enters unaided and alone, into an